49 pages

89

H.F.M

History of Freedom Movement

1940-45

PAGES 1-13

New C. F. 23.

19 .

Department of

OFFICE ______________

STATION ______________

No.

History of Freedom Movement

Dated

Bundle No 4.

File No 3.

Page 1 to 134

1941

Pages in the file

SUBJECT

File No: 3

Page no 1 to 134

EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO individual satyagraha and August Revolt etc (1939- Events (1941).

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Abstract of the GO.

(Riot - Aruppukottah (Ramnad Dt) - Police firing - Papers recorded).

REFERENCE: G.O.No.919 (Confidential) d/ 5th May 1941.

Public (General) Department.

CUTTINGS FROM NEWSPAPERS.

Name of the paper: Hindu

Published at : Madras

dated : 22/4/1941.

Police open Fire on Crowd

Sequel to false rumour.

--

Aruppukkottah Incident.

Ramnad, April 21,

Following a false rumour of the death of a Satyagrahi in remand in the Aruppukottah Sub-Jail, a large crowd collected before the jail yesterday in an endeavour to know the truth and the police had ultimately to open fire to disperse them.

It is stated that a rumour was set afloat that Mr. Jagannathan, Secretary of the Aruppukottah Town Congress Volunteers Association, was badly beaten by the police, as a result of which he died. A crowd of about 3,000 it is said, gathered before the jail gates and refused to disperse even after being told that the rumour was false. The Police soon arrived and when they attempted to disperse the crowd, it is alleged, some among the crowd threw stones at the police. Thereupon the latter opened fire and dispersed the Crowd.

Thirteen Congressmen are stated to have been arrested in this connection.

3

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.Os. RELATING TO ANTIWAR & QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT 1940 to 1947.

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY (Role of the Press -1939)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

("Musalman" - Security - demanded.)

REFERENCE:- G.O.No.1291 (Confidential) dated 4.8.1939

Public (Gen.) Dept.

The Government of Madras demanded security from "Musalman" of Madras for having published an objectionable article likely to incite feelings of hatred against the Government.

--

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Anti-war and 'Quit India' movement Role of the press (1941) (1940-45) IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

Press control - status and functions of Press Advisers - Constitution of Press Advisory Committee in Madras - Establishment of convention - Papers recorded.

REFERENCE:-G.O.No. 825(Con)dated 24-4-1941 Public (Press)Dept.

Public (Press)Department.

No. 3758/40 19-11-1940.

To

The Editor of

Sir,

I have the honour to state that this letter is addressed to all Editors of newspapers in order to clear up certain misapprehensions about the status and functions of Press Advisers.

2. The press advising system exists for the convenience and guidance of newspapers. It is a purely voluntary system and newspapers are under no legal obligation to avail themselves of it. It is intended to assist Editors who desire, for their better protection under the law to consult a Press Adviser as to the advisability of publishing particular items of news or comment and speculation based upon them.

Press Advisers do not seek to bring pressure to bear on Editors but merely to help them in the light of their special knowledge of the Defence of India Rules and of press Notices published under them from time to time.

Editors have been supplied with copies of 'Press Instructions for War' and of all Press Notices subsequently issued but it was felt that assistance in interpreting them in the relation to particular messages or articles might be useful and it was to provide such assistance that Press Advisers were appointed.

7

3(1) It follows that no offence is committed by not consulting a Press Adviser and similarly no offence is committed by not following the advice of a Press Adviser once it is given though in this connection Editors should bear in mind Press instructions for War, Introduction, paragraph 9 (3):--

"Where matter has been submitted for examination before publication, the advice of the Press Adviser should invariably be followed since its disregard would in all probability involve a contravention of the Ordinance and a contravention committed in such circumstances could only be regarded as deliberate".

Press Advising is thus a very different thing from pre-publication censorship.

(ii) If and when a newspaper asks in writing for assistance from a Press Adviser on a particular item of news or comment, the latter gives it by writing on the copy so ~~submittes~~ submitted, one of two remarks:

(a) PASSED FOR PUBLICATION

(b) NOT PASSED FOR PUBLICATION

The implications of these two remarks are as follows:

(a) PASSED FOR PUBLICATION: "This message, in my opinion is not actionable. You must not assume that Government positively approve of the contents of this or any other message passed for publication, but you may safely assume that if you publish it you will not be prosecuted."

(b) NOT PASSED FOR PUBLICATION: "This message, in my opinion (I may be wrong) is actionable".

(iii) As indicated above, the second category of advice is not legally binding upon newspapers. It is merely intended to assist Editors in making up their minds about publishing material likely to bring them into conflict with the law. Press Advisers confine themselves to expressing a lay opinion on the legality of material so submitted. They do not prentend to perform the functions of legal advisers, since editors (x)

(x) & Publishers and printers are solely responsible in law for any publication which may contravene Defence of India Rules. This liability remain except in so far as the positive passing of a message thus confer virtuous immunity.

Public (Press) Dept.

MEMORANDUM No. 3758/40-5 Dated 25-11-40.

Sub: Madras Press Advisory Committee - Constitution and its functions.

The attention of District Press Advisers is invited to Confidential Express Letter from the Home Department of the Government of India, No. 3/20/40- Political (I) dated 20th November 1940 (Copy enclosed)

2. In accordance with the desire of the Government o f India a Press Advisory Committee has been constituted for the Presidency of Madras consisting of the following gentlemen:-

1. Mr. Pothan Joseph, Editor, "Indian Express"
2. Mr. A.A.Hayles, Editor, "The Mail".
3. Mr. Sambhu Prasad, Editor, "Andhra Patrika"
4. Mr. K.Srinivasan, Editor, "The Hindu"
5. Mr. C.R.Srinivasan, Editor, "Swadesamitran". (Convener)

3. Though it is advisory in character the Government have resolved to establish a convention by which a reference to this Committee will be made of infranctions the Defence of India Rules or breaches of the "Genteleman's Agreement" in order to maintain the cordial relations now subsisting between the Government and the Press generally and for the reason mentioned in the second sentence of paragraph 3 of Part III of the Express Letter.

4. District Press Advisers are requested to bring such cases to the notice of the Provincial Press Adviser.

5. It is particularly requested that District Press Advisers will be guided in their relations to the Press by the suggestions made in paragraph 5 of Part III of the Express letter.

6. Press advising" in paragraphs 7 and 8 of Part I and Paragraph 6 of Part III refers to advice expected to be given in respect of matter voluntarily submitted to Press Advisers.

- - -

Extracts from G.Os. relating to Anti-war & Quit India Movement In the Madras Presidency - (1940-45)

(1941)

G.O.No.1079, dt.27th May 1941, Public (War) Dept., Confdl.

Sub: Newspapers - Annual Report and statement for 1940 - Transmitted to Government of India.

....

CONFIDENTIAL. PUBLIC (WAR) DEPARTMENT.

REPORT ON THE TONE OF THE NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS PUBLISHED DURING THE YEAR, 1940.

....

During the year under review, the tone of the English Press was on the whole satisfactory. The HINDU consistently supported the cause of the Allies in regard to war but strenuously advocated that the political deadlock in India should be ended.

The attitude towards the war of the Tamil newspapers, the majority of which were distinctly nationalistic in tone, was generally unexceptionable. Nazi and Fascist doctrines were regarded with undisguised contempt and aversion and there was a lively appreciation of the dangers inherent in the spread of these doctrines. The Tamil Press was sympathetic to the cause espoused by Britain although it did not hesitate to criticize bitterly the disinclination of British statesmen to apply to India the principles of freedom and democracy in defence of which Britain is waging the present war. The papers were highly critical of the British Government's handling of the political situation in India and were never tired of urging upon them the need for conciliating India with a view to enlisting her wholehearted co-operation, in the successful prosecution of the war. The British Government were blamed for forcing the Congress to launch the satyagraha movement by their rejection of the proposal to form a National Government at the Centre for the duration of the war.

The tone of the Malayalam Press remained satisfactory. All sections of the Press wholeheartedly supported the cause of Great Britain in the war and carried on much helpful propaganda. The British Government's declaration of the go[...] their policy in India and the Viceregal pronouncem[...] great hopes of an early and satisfactory sett[...] constitutional impasse in India, but when t[...]

Mr. Gandhi and His Excellency the Viceroy eventually failed, the Nationalist Press assumed that it was because the British Government were reluctant to part with power in India. There were fervent appeals in the Press that Britain should adopt a far-seeing policy and win the co-operation of the Congress. There was persistent demand for the introduction of a representative element in the Central Government and for an unequivocal declaration that Dominion Status would be granted to India within a specified period after the war. The campaign of civil disobedience was widely disapproved, and received little support. The Pakistan scheme was strongly condemned by all sections of the Press. Little notice was paid to Mr. Bose and his Forward Bloc. Mr. M.N.Roy's activities were viewed with suspicion. There was a large volume of Press opinion that the Government of India were not doing all they could to promote big industries in this country and not taking advantage of the situation created by the war. The military policy of the Government also came in for frequent criticism on the ground that, even in the face of the present danger, the Government were slow in taking steps to make India self-sufficient in all branches of defence.

(The Press was alive to the danger to India from Japanese policy in the Far East, and welcomed the Anglo-American accord. There was strong support for the cause of China.)

The tone of the Kannada papers was generally restrained and moderate. The Nationalist papers which formed an influential section of the Press, were ardently pro-Congress and expressed implicit faith in the leadership of Mr. Gandhi. They were also warm in their praise of the Viceroy, who, they said, was sincerely doing all he could to promote the country's interests. They expressed grave doubts, however, regarding the intentions of the authorities in England on the subject of granting full responsible Government. The Congress was demanding complete autonomy, it was said, only in theory, in order to uphold national prestige, but in practice all the parties were agreed that the 'substance of independence' was all that ~~they~~

the country desired, and full Dominion Status would completely satisfy the people.

The policy of the Forward Bloc was regarded with disapproval, as also the attitude of the Muslim League in regard to the communal problem. The Pakistan scheme was vehemently condemned and it was remarked that though it was imperative that the authorities should discountenance the Muslim agitation in that direction, they were taking no action really because they were not eager to hasten constitutional reform. Participation in the Government's war effort was continually referred to as the very thing that the country desired, provided there were real guarantees of responsible Government.

Communism of the Russian pattern was regarded with the same antipathy as ~~Nazism~~ Nazism and Fascism. But Socialism, in the sense of equal opportunities for all classes and communities, was regarded as the true essence of democracy and worthy of universal acceptance.

The tone of the Urdu Press did not show any marked change during the year under report. The Press unanimously espoused the cause of the democracies especially of Great Britain in the war and denounced the Fascist and the Nazi dictators. It expressed grave concern at the safety of the Islamic countries in these critical times. All the papers except the whimsical RAFIQUE generally showed communalistic tendencies and gave support to the policy of the Muslim League and its Pakistan scheme with more or less enthusiasm according to their respective tones.

ENGLISH.

The HINDU continued to occupy a pre-eminent position among the English dailies in Madras. Nationalistic in outlook, its sympathies were generally on the side of the Congress, though on occasions it did not hesitate to point out its lapses. It was fair in its criticism of the Administration of the Province constituted under section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935. Though it consistently supported the cause of the Allies in regard to war, it strenuously advocated the ending of the political deadlock in India, sharply criticizing the

position taken up by the Secretary of State for India and His Excellency the Viceroy.

The MAIL continued to be attractive in its appearance and make-up. * * * * * * * * The stand taken by the Congress and in some respects by the Muslim League in regard to political problems, did not appeal to the paper and it did not hesitate to condemn these political ~~xxxxx~~ organizations for their part in prolonging the constitutional crisis in India and to that extent impeding war effort.

The INDIAN EXPRESS, though pro-Congress, was inclined to be critical of some of its actions. Consistency was not its fault and its criticisms of men and measures were therefore characterized as much by vigour as by capriciousness. Its feature "Over a Cup of Tea" attracted a good deal of attention.

FREE PRESS, a new-comer, was started in Madras early in August 1940. It is a half-anna morning paper. It has not made any mark in this Presidency. Of all the dailies it is the most pro-Congress and a strong and indiscriminate critic of the Government.

The SUNDAY OBSERVER was never happy unless it had some occasion for having a fling at Brahmans inside or outside the Government. It had no hesitation in abusing the Government for its leniency towards the Indian section of the Press and at one time said that on account of this "Lord Linlithgow must go". It changed its views the moment some restrictions were imposed upon the Press, changing over again to its original attitude as soon as those restrictions were withdrawn.

The DECCAN TIMES, advocated the Pakistan scheme as a loyal supporter of the Muslim League. Its communalistic outlook was very marked.

TAMIL AND ANGLO-TAMIL.

The DHINAMANI was the most popular Tamil daily in the Province. It achieved its popularity by its appeal to the mass mind, by bright display of news, by trenchant comment and by the employment of a style which was as forcible as it was simple. It was a severe critic of the British Government's Indian policy.

The BHARATHA DEVI was a new-comer to the ranks of the Tamil dailies. It was thoroughly pro-Congress in tone. Its comments on current topics were distinctly strong but not intemperate.

The DARUL ISLAM and the SAIFUL ISLAM championed the cause of the Muslim League. They were relentless critics of the Congress. Both of them were strong advocates of the Pakistan scheme. The former paper lent support to the views of the Justice Party also.

The ANANDA VIKATAN continued to occupy a unique place in Tamil journalism on account of its political cartoons and its good-humoured satire on men and things. It was an ardent supporter of the right-wing Congressmen.

The NAGARA DUTAN supported the Justice Party and was, as usual, a severe critic of the Congress. It ventilated the grievances of the Tamils and pleaded earnestly for the separation of the Tamil Nad.

The SUTHANTHRA SANGU, which was revived early in the year, and ceased publication after three months, had definite leanings towards Socialism. It was a staunch supporter of the left-wing Congressmen.

The TAMIL ULAGAM, a new-comer to the ranks of the Tamil weeklies, was a bitter critic of the Congress. It ventilated the grievances of the Tamils in general. It pleaded vehemently for the separation of the Tamil Nad.

The VIDUTHALAI and KUDI ARASU of Erode were anti-Brahman and anti-Congress and were full of tirades against them.

The KUMARAN AND CHETTINADU of Karaikkudi generally supported the policy of the Congress and after the war, they were also publishing war news and comments on the political situation in Europe.

The CATHOLIC CHAMPION of Tuticorin continued to be pro-British.

MALAYALAM.

The CHANDRIKA was a strong supporter of the Muslim League and very critical of the Congress and the Mahasabha. Its tone was unobjectionable.

The MITHAVADI was a critic of communal inequality and a supporter of the British Government.

The MALAYALA RAJYAM of Quilon was generally pro-Congress in matters relating to British India, but disapproved the campaign of civil disobedience and pleaded for strong support of India's war effort. Its tone was sometimes vehement but unobjectionable.

The DEEPIKA of Kottayam stood for Dominion Status for India with safeguards for minorities. Its tone was good.

The MALAYALI of Trivandrum was a nationalist of the Hindu Maha Sabha type. Its tone was moderate.

The POWRA PRABHA of Kottayam was moderate in politics. Its tone was unobjectionable.

The KERALA KAUMUDI of Trivandrum represented minority interests but was nationalistic in outlook and sober in its comments.

The SAHODARAN of Ernakulam was a vigorous critic of Congress and caste-Hindu politics and an exponent of rationalistic thought. It stood for the interests of the Izhuva community. Its tone was unobjectionable.

KANNADA.

The RASHTRA BHANDU continued giving strongly nationalistic views. It was pro-Congress and moderate in tone.

The SWADESHABHIMANI, was a vigorous nationalist weekly and kept its tradition of being an independent journal. Its tone was moderate.

The VISWAKARNATAKA of Bangalore continued to be an ardent pro-Congress paper but its tone was more restrained than in the past. Its attitude to the local administration was that of a friendly critic.

The TAYI NADU was a leading daily which identified itself with Congress politics. Its tone was distinctly less vehement

than it used to be.

The DESHABANDHU supported the Congress demands to a large extent. Its tone was uniformly sober and its views distinctly pro-Liberal. It disapproved of the activities of the Mysore State Congress.

The PRAJAMATHA was a revival of an old weekly of a somewhat chequered career. It continued to be a hearty supporter of the Mysore State Congress but its tone was devoid of the vehemence which had characterized it at one time.

U R D U.

The HAMDARD was a newly started paper. The tone of the paper was extreme, vehement and slightly vituperative.

The ALMAE was an anti-Congress daily. Its communalism generally passed beyond the bounds of reasonableness, making its comments look unreal. Its tone was pointed and vehemently disposed.

The JADEED DILCHASP was an attractive popular weekly. It attacked the Congress, the Maha Sabha and the Arya Samaj for their opposition to the Muslims. Its tone was moderate, sometimes humourously inclined.

The JARIDA-I-ROZGAR, expressed full confidence in the ultimate victory of Britain and appealed to the Indians to aid her. It supported Hyderabad's demand for independence.

The RAFIQUE continued to be an alternate critic of the Congress, the Government and the Muslim League as suited best its whimsical mood. It displayed a strong aversion to the Maha-Sabha and the Arya Samaj. Its tone was moderate on the whole.

The RAHBAR-I-DECCAN of Hyderabad continued to ~~be national in outlook with extra l~~ champion the cause of the State. It advocated the Muslim League policy, severely criticizing the Congress leaders, especially Mr. Gandhi for their undiplomatic moves. It strongly supported Britain's war aims and appreciated Hyderabad's war efforts. The paper maintained its dignified moderate tone with an occasional tinge of sarcasm in its editorial comments.

The PAYAM, Hyderabad (Deccan), continued to be national in outlook with extra leanings towards the Congress. Nevertheless, it justified Britain's war policy. It retained its tone as an advanced moderate.

The ALKALAM of Bangalore supported heart and soul the British war aims and advocated enthusiastic co-operation of India with war. It was a pro-Muslim League paper maintaining an uncompromising hostility towards Mr. Gandhi and the Congress policy directed by him. It was loyal and moderate.

The SAHIFA of Hyderabad (Deccan) often commented on religious or political subjects in a normal strain. It exhibited hatred and disgust for the policy of the Congress High Command but supported the Muslim League and its Pakistan scheme. It supported heartily the British war aims. Its tone was pointed and vehemently disposed.

The MUSHEER-I-DECCAN of Hyderabad was a nationalist with pro-Hindu bias. Its spare comments were generally confined to local subjects. Its tone was mild.

Fort St. George,
Dated 4th April 1941.

(Sd.) S.V.RAMAMURTY,
CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Anti-war and "Quit India" movement, Role of the Press (1941) (1940-45)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

News papers and periodicals - The Indian Express - Publication of the parting of the ways - Matter placed before the Press Advisory Committee - Publication of Dr. P.V.Naidu's statement - Misleading ~~leadtimes~~ headlines - papers recorded.

REFERENCE:-G.O.No. 789(Ordi) dated 21-4-1941, Public (Press)Dept.

Name of paper-- The Indian Express.

Published at-- Madras.

Dated -- 6-5-1941.

Dr. P.Varadarajulu Naidu said that it augured well that the formal opening of the new buildings of the Arya Samaj was preceded by the happy ceremony of reconversion of a Muslim to the Hindu fold. He complimented the Arya Samaj on their efforts in this direction and attributed the present strength of the Hindu Maha Sabha to the militant policy pursued by the Arya Samaj.

Pan-Islamism.

Speaking about what was called the "Pan-Islamic Movement," Dr. Varadarujulu Naidu struck a note of warning to the British Government. The present communal riots in this country. He would tell them, were part of a premeditated plan carefully chalked out by the Muslim countries from Turkey to Afghanistan. Side by side with these riots a false propaganda was being carried on to the effect that British Rule was coming to an end in this country and that very soon Moghul Rule would once again be established At such a perilous juncture, said Dr. Naidu, Hindus should not be lethargic. They should be alive to the dangers ahead, organised and prepared to defend their hearth and homes. If that was done Dr. Naidu was sure that no Muslim Rule would even last for a few hours. Where the mighty Aurangazeb failed, could Mr. Jinnah succeed?

The threat of "Pan-Islamic" alliance would never dishearten the Hindus, remarked Dr. Naidu. If the Muslims of India could get allies in Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan the Hindus would with least

~~difficulty~~

difficulty get support from countries like Japan, China Ceylon and Burma who had many things and interests in common.

PAKISTAN.

Dr. Naidu then condemned Pakistan as an untenable proposition and wanted the Hindus to make it clear that in India only majority rule would prevail and no minority would be allowed to hinder that rule.

Suggesting certain remedies for averting communal clashes Dr. Naidu said that every street should contain a band of strong Hindus, who would be ever on the alert to spot out mischief mongers and teach them a lesson that would prevent disturbances of any kind.

- - - - -

31

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Antiwar and 'Quit India' movement Role of the Press (1941) (1940-45)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

ABSTRACT OF THE G.OSX

Newspapers and Periodicals - Prajabandhu - publication of objectionable matter - Editor advised by the Convener of the Press Advisory committee - Papers recorded.

REFERENCE: G.O.No.360(Ordi) dated 21-2-1941, Public (Press)Dept.

"COPY"

ALL-INDIA NEWSPAPER EDITORS' CONFERENCE.

C.R.SRINIVASAN,
Convener, Madras Provincial
Advisory Committee.

Kasturi Buildings,
Mount Road, Madras,
29th January 1941.

The Editor,
"Prajabandhu"
MADRAS.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Dear Sir,

My attention has been drawn by the Special Press Adviser to Government to the publication in Col.4 Page 11 of your issue of 19th January 1941 of the following matter which is deemded actionable under the Defence of India Rules:

> "Individual satyagraha is not helpful to the struggle for independence. Indian independence cannot be secured except through mass struggle. Further the condition that none but those who spin yarn should participate in the satyagraha still narrows down the scope of the present satyagraha. So, this committee requests Mr. Gandhi, the Congress dictator, to convert the ensuing popular struggle into mass satyagraha."

I am desired by my Committee to caution you against future publication of similar statements.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) C.R.Srinivasan,

CONVENER

Madras Press Advisory Committee.

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.Os. RELATING TO ANTI-WAR & QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT 1940-47.

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Abstract of the G.O. Role of the Press, 1941.

("Free Press" - Editor warned)

REFERENCE: G.O.No.930 (Ordinary) dated 6.5.1941 Public department.

The editor of "Free Press" was warned by the government for publishing a detailed satyagraha programme.

35

EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO Individual Satyagraha & August Revolt 1940-45

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Role of the Press

Abstract of the GO.

(Riots - Use of the word "riot" - Letter from the chief Press Adviser - Papers Recorded.).

REFERENCE: G.O.No.1411, (Confidential); dated 7 - 7 - 1941.
Public (Press) Department.

-- --

CONFIDENTIAL.

No.266/41.
Government of India,
Home Department,

Simla, July 2, 1941.

All Provincial and Special Press Advisers.

COMMUNAL DISORDERS.

The attention of Press Advisers is drawn to the attached copy of a letter recently addressed to Mr. K. Srinivasan deprecating the unnecessary use of the word "riot" in newspaper reports. Mr. Srinivasan has replied that he is in agreement with the views expressed in this letter and has undertaken to circulate it to the Conveners of Provincial Press Advisory Committees.

It is felt here that the loose use of the words "riot" and "rioting" tends sometimes to give a false impression of local disorders and that were the press to refrain from the use of these words in describing petty brawls and isolated acts of violence much needless alarm would be obviated and communal tension thereby lessened.

Press Advisers will no doubt consider the desirability of impressing this point on editors of newspapers should a suitable opportunity arise.

(Sd.)B.J.KICHNER,
CHIEF PRESS ADVISER.

****

Copy of a letter No.S.3243/41, dated 20th June, 1941, from the Chief Press Adviser to Mr.K.Srinivasan, President, All-India Editors' Conference, Madras.

I have long thought that the word "riot" is greatly over-worked in India and that its misuse both in the press and elsewhere frequently tends to have an unsteadying effect on the public. As an example of what I mean I would refer you to the sort of headlines one sees, "Rioting continues in Dustipore", when the text of the report merely refers to a number of isolated stabbings having taken place which could more accurately be described as cold blooded murders or assaults.

The psychological effect of the word "riot" on the average law abiding citizen is to create uneasiness, if not panic, and the greatest care should I think be taken not to use the word except in its true meaning, viz., tumult or disturbance. One reason for its misuse, especially in newspapers, is that it is a convenient word of four letters which can be more easily fitted into a headline than words such as "disorders", "assaults", "affrays" or even "brawls".

Newspapers are, of course, not the only offenders in this respect for even in official announcements one sees references to "riots" and "the riot situation being well in hand", when all that is meant is "brawl" or "order prevails" as the case may be. This official attachment to the word may be due to the phraseology used in the I.P.C. which defines a riot as an assembly of five or more persons gathered with the common object of causing a disturbance. The ordinary man, however, visualise a riot as something far bigger and when he sees the word in print he ~~xi~~ instinctively thinks of a large scale civil disturbance with imminent threat to life andproperty.

If you agree with the foregoing, I would suggest that consider sending out a personal letter, as President of All India Newspaper Editors' Confdrence, to all editors pointing the desirability of impressing on their staffs the need for using the word "riot" only in its true sense, and not applied to isolated assaults and murders committed by "badmashes" ar hooligans. In recent months the nerves of the public have been kept on edge for days after communal disturbances have actually ceased by loose talk of riots and rioting and I th the press could render invaluable service were greater discri tion used in the employment of these words.

Extracts from G.O.s relating to Anti-war & Quit India Movement In the Madras Presidencies: - Role of the Press (1942) (1940-45)

41

G.O.NO.2104, Public (Elections), dt. 17.7.1942 (Confidential).

Sub:- Newspapers - Annual Report and Statement for 1941 - Transmitted to Government of India.

Report on the Tone of the Newspapers and Periodicals published during the year 1941.

* * * * * * * The Nationalist papers were very critical of the British Government's Indian policy, and lamented that, even after the war had come to the very doors of India, the British Government would not realise the need for conciliating India and enlisting her wholehearted co.operation.

The tone of the Malayalam newspapers and periodicals ~~were~~ was on the whole satisfactory, especially in regard to news and comments relating to the war. The entry of Russia into the war was welcomed, and the alliance of England and America with Russia was regarded as having strengthened the moral background of the Allies. For a time there was a persistent demand for a clear statement of Britain's war aims so far as India was concerned. The Atlantic declaration was at first well received but the subsequent announcement that it did not alter the policy of the British Government towards Indian affairs evoked strong protests. A section of the Press went so far as to question the sincerity of Britain's intentions towards India. Most of the newspapers continued to support the Congress, although some disapproved of its policy of non-violence in relation to the defence of the country. Appeals were made to the British Government to treat India generously and to conciliate the Congress. The proposals put forward by the Liberals for solving the constitutional deadlock were widely supported. The expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council failed to evoke much enthusiasm. The Press deplored the lack of military preparedness in India, and stressed the need for industrialising the country and making use of its vast resources in man-power and material for the more effective prosecution of the war. After Japan entered the war, the Press became more insistent on adequate military preparations being made with all speed to protect India against the new danger from the East.

The tone of the Kannada newspapers and periodicals was generally unobjectionable. Most of these papers were nationalistix in tone and strongly supported Mr. Gandhi and the Press Congress. India's right to self-determination was repeatedly urged. This section of the Press unanimously condemned the activities of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League and expressed the view that the Pakistan scheme was prejudicial to the interests of India as a whole. The British policy of regarding the Hindu-Muslim problem as a serious obstacle to the political progress of the country was also severely criticised. The British Premier's declaration on the Atlantic Charter was criticised in terms similar to those used by the Malayalam Press. Disabilities of Indian settlers in Ceylon, the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement, and the policy of the Government of India in regard to defence and industrial development were among the important subjects to which much attention was paid. Comments on the war were uniformly favourable to Great Britain and her Allies. The policy and methods of Hitler and his supporters were strongly condemned, and Britain's alliance with Russia was hailed with delight. Japan's conduct in suddenly declaring war on Britain while negotiations were still in progress was condemned.

(See next page for a continuation of this).

 45

Kannada Press

* * * * * * * * The steady advance of the Japanese forces in the Far East, despite their heavy losses, was regarded with great concern. All sections of the Press complained that Indian defence measures were not adequate to meet the situation and urged the British Government to take immediate steps to inaugurate a National Government at the Centre, as demanded by the Congress, to secure India's wholehearted co-operation in the Allied war effort.

The tone of the Urdu press did not show any perceptible change during the year under review. * * * * * * All papers except the RAFIQUE continued their allegiance to the Muslim League and Mr. M.A.JINNAH and supported the Pakistan scheme.

ENGLISH.

THE HINDU maintained its reputation as a journal of the highest standard. As a nationalist paper, its sympathies were with the Congress, but it did not hesitate to point out the unwisdom of continuing the present political deadlock and took the lead in demanding the cessation of the satyagraha movement.

THE MAIL was critical of the policy pursued by the Congress and attacked the leading Indian political parties with considerable vehemence when their attitude impeded the war effort in any way. It did not hesitate to criticise the Provincial Government when in its opinion they neglected their responsibilities over matters such as public safety and public health.

THE INDIAN EXPRESS, a pro-Congress paper, criticised the Congress Working Committee's interpretation of the Poona Pact which it considered was different from that of Mr. Gandhi. It supported the cause of the Allies, but it featured alarmist news by banner headlines and had to be warned by the Government.

THE FREE PRESS continued to be a warm supporter of the Congress and an advocate of Mr. Gandhi's philosophy. It disagreed with the decision of the Congress Working Committee at Bardoli, where the later differed from the view expressed by Mr. Gandhi. The paper continued to ~~the~~ criticise the Government's policy.

47

The SUNDAY OBSERVER continued to attack both Brahmans and the Congress and was intemperate in its language in criticising them. It was an ardent supporter of the Allied cause.

THE DECCAN TIMES continued to advocate Pakistan. Its sympathies remained strongly communal.

TAMIL AND ANGLO-TAMIL.

The SWADESAMITRAN as usual displayed sound judgment and restraint in expression. Long before the Bardoli decision of the Congress Working Committee it favoured the abandonment of individual Satyagraha and a change in the policy and programme of the Congress. Unlike the other Tamil pro-Congress dailies, it did not underrate the importance of work in the Legislature.

The DINAMANI was the most prominent of the pro-Congress Tamil papers. The prominence given to news items and trenchant criticisms contributed greatly to its popularity.

The VIDUTHALAI, an organ of the Justice Party, transferred its headquarters from Erode to Madras ~~i n~~ in May 1941. It was anti-Congress and anti-Brahman and urged the claims of the non-Brahman community for better treatment by the Government. It was sympathetic towards the Muslim League and pleaded for Pakistan and Dravidastan. It was a very strong advocate of the Allied cause.

The politics of the DARUL ISLAM, which became a daily in March 1941, and the SAIFUL ISLAM were those of the Muslim League. Their outlook was communal and they were severe critics of the Congress.

The ANANDA VIKATAN was the most popular and humorous weekly in Madras. It was pro-Congress and its comments on the British Government's Indian policy were sometimes caustic.

The LOKOPAKARI continued to be pro-Congress but on occasions criticised the policy of the Congress High Command.

The RASHTRAVANI, a pro-Congress weekly, was a bitter critic of the British Government's Indian policy.

The KALKI, a pro-Congress fortnightly, was started in August 1941. Though largely a literary and cultural journal, it invariably commented on Political Topics and occasionaly criticised the Govt.

invariably commented on political topics and occasionally criticised the Government.

Malayalam.

The MATHRUBHUMI was a strong supporter of Mr. Gandhi. It continues to be the leading Malayalee newspaper. It had to be curbed for publishing objectionable comments on the conduct of soldiers.

The CHANDRIKA was a strong supporter of the Muslim League and very critical of the Congress and the Mahasabha. Its tone was unobjectionable.

The MITHAVADI was a strong communal (Thiyya) weekly critical of caste Hindus. It was a supporter of the British Government.

The MALAYALA RAJYAM of Quilon was strongly nationalist in tone and was vehement in its criticism of the British policy in India.

The DEEPIKA of Kottayam was nationalist in outlook but its views on constitutional advance in India were moderate.

The MALAYALI of Trivandrum was a nationalist paper with Hindu Mahasabha leanings. Its tone was generally unobjectionable.

The KERALA KAUMUDI of Trivandrum represented the Izhuva community. It was nationalist in outlook and restrained in its comment.

The SAHODARAN of Ernakulam represented the interests of the Izhuva community. It was a strong critic of the Congress.

KANNADA.

The VISWAKARNATAKA of Bangalore continued to occupy a pre-eminent position among the Kannada papers of the Mysore State. It was a staunch advocate of the Gandhian school of politics.

The TAYI NADU was an important daily of Bangalore. It was a nationalist paper moderate in tone and always supported the Congress.

The DESHABANDHU, another daily of Bangalore, was an independent nationalist organ. It identified itself with Liberal

opinion in the country and was usually pro-Government. It was a bitter critic of the Mysore State Congress, though occasionally it supported Mr. Gandhi. Its tone was unobjectionable.

The SWATANTRA KARNATAKA, another weekly of Bangalore, was a nationalist organ of the Congress school. Its tone was very moderate.

The JANMA BHOOMI of Mercara was another weekly of Coorg. It defended the Congress policy. It did not hesitate to criticise the local administration occasionally. Its tone was moderate.

URDU.

The MUSSALMAN became the unchallenged leader of the Urdu Press during the year. It was anti-Congress and supported the Pakistan scheme. Its tone was sometimes extremist.

As in the previous year the RAFIQUE occasionally indulged in criticism of the Government, the Congress or the Muslim League according to its fancy, but its tone remained moderate.

The RABHAR-I-DECCAN of Hyderabad (Deccan) maintained during the year its leadership of the Urdu press. Its policy of ardent support to the Muslim League, uncompromising opposition to the Congress and advocacy of the cause of the Hyderabad State were continued.

The ALKALAM of Bangalore generally endorsed the policy of the Muslim League, though it occasionally sympathised with the Congress. It advocated wholehearted co-operation of India with the war efforts and deprecated the bargaining spirit shown at a critical time by the two chief political organizations on this question. Its tone was generally moderate.

The SAHEFA of Hyderabad (Deccan) continued its anti-Congress and pro-League policy. Its outlook was loyal and its tone vehement.

The MUSHEER-I-DECCAN of Hyderabad (Deccan) continued its nationalist policy. It was slightly pro-Hindu in outlook and mild in tone.

Madras,
Dated 6th July 1942.

(Sd.) S.V.RAMAMURTY,
CHIEF SECRETARY.

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Anti War + Quit India Movement (1940 to 1947)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Role of the Press. 1941)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

("Kalki" Editor - advised - Government of Madras)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.2255(Confidential)dated 13-10-1941, Public (Press) Dept.

The Editor of "Kalki" was advised for an objectionable article published in the paper dated 1st October 1941.

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Antiwar and "Quit India" movts IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Role of the Press (1942) (1940-45)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

Madras Press Advisory Committee:- Report up to 1st March 1942 - Papers recorded.

REFERENCE:-G.O.No. 1009 (Con) dated 26/3/1942, Public (Press)Dept.

REPORT OF THE MADRAS PROVINCIAL PRESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE UPTO 1st MARCH, 1942.

CONSTITUTION: The Committee was constituted on the 28th November 1940, and consisted of five members to start with, as recommended to the Government by the President of the Conference The following were the members with Mr. C.R.Srinivasan as the Convener:

1. Mr. K.Srinivasan Editor, "The Hindu"
2. Mr. C.R.Srinivasan Editor, "Swadesamitran"
3. Mr. A.A.Hayles Editor, "The Mail"
4. Mr. Pothan Joseph Editor, Indian Express"
5. Mr. Shambu Prasad, Editor, "Andhra Patrika."

When Mr. Pothan Joseph resigned from the "Indian Express", Mr. Khasa Subba Rao was appointed in his place. Later, the size of the Committee was enlarged to seven to now the following is the personnel of the Committee:

1. Mr. K.Srinivasan, Editor, "The Hindu"
2. Mr. C.R.Srinivasan, Editor, "Swadesamitran"
3. Mr. A.A.Hayles Editor, "The Mail"
4. Mr. Khasa Subba Rao Editor "Free Press"
5. Mr. Shambu Prasad, Editor, "Andhra Patrika"
6. Mr. Ramnoth Goenka, Editor, "Indian Express"
7. Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan, Editor, "Deccan Times"

PROCEDURE ~~PROCEDURES~~: Meetings of the Press Advisory Committee were held whenever Government desired to consult the Committee on any matter relating to the Press. Occasionally it has happened that meetings of the Committee were held to consider problems relating to the Press inter-se also. Meetings were convened by the Convener; the agenda for the meeting was provided by him; the proceedings of the meeting were recorded by him; and such action as was deemed necessary by the meeting was taken by him after Government had expressed concurrence with the views of the Committee. The Chief Secretary to Government was present at all the meetings convened at the request of the Government,

xxxxxxxxx

and the Special Press Adviser also was present.

MEETINGS: Altogether 12 meetings were held during the period under report: 8 at the Chief Secretary's foom in the Fort St. George, and 4 at the "Kasturi Buildings", Mount Road. The material on which Government sought the views of the Committee having been made available to the members of the Committee in advance with the notice of the meeting frank and free discussion among members, in which Government members also took part, followed and generally, it has been found possible to arrive at unanimous decision which Government ~~members also took part, followed and generally, it has been found possible to arrive at unanimous decision which Government~~ have invariably respected; on only one occasion there has a conflict of views between the Committee and Government the Committee feeling that a warning was sufficient and Government considering stronger action necesssar: When, however, the attention of the Government was drawn at an emergent meeting specially convened for the purpose, that Government of India had accepted the view that a warning should be a necessary preliminary for stronger action, the Government of Madras readily yielded to this submission. During the period under report, except for stray warnings to mofussil newspapers erring in ignorance, no occasion had arisen for the exercise of more drastic measures.

POWERS AND PRIVILEGES: At the time the Committee was constituted the Government of Madras apparently had in view only the idea of consulting the Committee on matters arising out of a breach of the Defence of India Regulations. When it came to the notice of the Committee that the scope of consultations had been narrowed down to these proportions, the matter was taken up by it at one of committee that they should be consulted on all matters relating to the Press. ~~Their communique in this connection is appended to this report (appendix~~

The question of maintaing contacts and cordial relations between mofussil correspondents and district authorities engaged the attention of the Committee at one of its early meetings and here also, following the suggestions of the Committee, Government have issued a helpful communique, ~~vide Appendix B~~. Reports from mofussil stations indicate that the new arangement is working satisfactorily.

CONCLUSION: The Madras Committee has had a satisfactory year of work. Credit for this should go largely to the Madras Press who recognise the limitations imposed by war conditions and have commendably co-operated in the spirit of the advice tendered to them by the President. Credit in some measure is also due to the Government of Madras, especially to the Special Press Adviser, Mr. V.S.Ramaswami Sastri, whose understanding and sympathy greatly helped to smoothen out points of conflict.

-- - -

Extracts from G.O.'S relating to Anti-war & Quit India Movement in the Madras Presidencies: - Role of the Press - (1943) (1940-45)

G.O.NO4276, Public (Elections), dt. 15th May 1943/Miscellaneous (Confidential).

Sub:- Newspapers - Annual Report and Statement for 1942 - Transmitted to Government of India.

61

CONFIDENTIAL.

PUBLIC (ELECTIONS) DEPT.

REPORT ON THE TONE OF THE NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS PUBLISHED DURING THE YEAR 1942.

****

During the year under review, the English Press generally was agitated over the failure of the Cripps Mission, the arrest and detention in jail of Congress leaders, the campaign of civil disobedience attended with violence and crime which followed and the measures taken by the Government to suppress it. The tone of the Nationalist Press was vehement. It stressed the view, that if only Britain extended to India and the East the principles enunciated in the Atlantic Charter and established immediately a National Government at the Centre, the whole outlook in connection with the war would be immeasurably improved.

Subject to these general remarks, the tone of the Tamil papers was not unsatisfactory. They were, however, very critical of the Government's policy in regard to India. There was bitter disappointment at the failure of the Cripps Mission which was attributed to the unwillingness of the British Government to part with power. The restrictions imposed on the Press in regard to the publication of news about the civil disobedience movement were strongly resented and all dailies except one suspended publication as a protest.

The tone of the Malayalam Press was unchanged. With regard to the war, its attitude was specially sympathetic towards the Allies. It stressed the need for strengthening India's defences and for securing the whole-hearted co-operation of India in the present struggle. It expressed its relief and satisfaction at the passing of the initiative in all theatres of war from the Axis powers to the Allied Nations. A section of the Press was of opinion that the opening of a second front in Europe and the establishment of a National Government in India were essential for the victory of the Allies. The nationalist section of the Press was critical of the British Government's policy towards

63

India and attributed the failure of the Cripps Mission to Britain's reluctance to transfer real power to India. The disorders that followed the arrest of the Congress leaders and the measures taken by the Government to suppress them were strongly criticised. The Pakistan scheme was condemned. The extension of His Excellency the Viceroy's term of office was not well received by the nationalist section of the Press. There was protest against the imposition of restrictions on the Press. The Press deplored the Government's attitude to the Indian industrial problem and complained that the measures adopted by the Government to control prices were inadequate.

The tone of the Kannada Press though strongly nationalistic was restrained. The majority of the papers supported Mr. Gandhi and the Congress and protested against the British Government's Indian policy, which, it was said, was highly detrimental to the interests both of India and of England. The Press deplored the Viceroy's refusal to grant permission to the country's leaders to interview Mr. Gandhi: this was interpreted as a clear indication of the disinclination on the part of the British Government to part with power. Comments in regard to the war were, on the whole, satisfactory. The entire Press continued to support the cause of the Allies, though it often urged that the British Government should declare India's independence without delay and thereby secure the whole-hearted support of the people for the successful prosecution of the war. The news regarding the growing unrest in Italy and Germany was received with much satisfaction. The Press generally took an optimistic view of the war situation both in the East and in the West.

The tone of the Urdu Press was, on the whole, restrained and moderate. It continued to support the cause of the United Nations, though it did not hesitate to criticise what it considered their shortcomings regarding the delay in oepning a second front in Europe and providing adequate help to Russia and China. In internal politics, the great majority of newspapers followed the lead of the Muslim League. The Press was

almost unanimous in demanding a very early solution of the political deadlock and the establishment of a provisional National Government in the country subject to the right of the Muslims to achieve Pakistan after the termination of the War.

ENGLISH. 65

The HINDU maintained its position of pre-eminence among newspapers in this Presidency, in regard both to circulation and to popularity. It gave full and constant expression to its sympathies with the Congress, and its attacks on Government were often bitter and pungent. It was once warned by the Government.

The INDIAN EXPRESS continued to be a staunch supporter of the Congress. It condemned strongly the attitude of the Government of India towards the Press and criticised the President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference for his "lukewarmness" in defending the liberties of the Press. Its featuring ~~the restrictions~~ of war news was often such as to create alarm and to call for notice by the Government.

The FREE PRESS continued to support the Congress and its tone in criticising the Government was often objectionable. Government refrained from taking action as the paper suspended publication as a protest against the restrictions imposed on the Press in respect of publication of news relating to the civil disobedience movement. After it resumed publication, its comments were much more sober.

The LIBERATOR, a morning daily, was started on the 12th December. It supported the cause of the non-Brahmans and its leading articles, which were long, dealt mainly with administrative questions. It was definitely anti-Congress.

The SUNDAY OBSERVER continued its indiscriminate attacks on Brahmans. It characterised the Congress as pro-Axis and its leaders as "fifth columnists".

TAMIL AND ANGLO-TAMIL.

The NAVAYUGAM, a pro-Congress evening paper, stopped publication as a protest against the restrictions imposed on the Press

in regard to the publication of news regarding the civil disobedience movement. It did not resume publication.

The CONGRESS, an evening paper, ~~stopped~~ belonging to the 'Free Press' group, was started during the year. It stopped publication in August like other pro-Congress papers as a protest against the restrictions imposed on the Press and did not resume publication. Its tone was generally moderate.

The ANANDA VIKATAN continued to be the most popular weekly in Madras. It was a humourous paper with strong pro-Congress views and its comments were often caustic. Effective political cartoons were a feature of the paper. A security of Rs.500 was demanded from it for publishing an objectionable cartoon.

The KALKI, a tri-monthly, was as popular as the ANANDA VIKATAN. Though its tone was generally pro-Congress, it disapproved of the Congress policy in regard to the civil disobedience and supported the Government in its attitude to the war.

The JANASAKTHI, a weekly, was the official organ of the Provincial Communist party. Though strongly nationalistic, it condemned the Forward Bloc and disapproved of the policy of the Congress High Command. At the same time, it severely condemned the policy of the Government which it characterized as 'repressive'.

MALAYALAM.

The MATHRUBHUMI continued to be the leading nationalist daily and was a strong supporter of the Congress Gandhian party. As its tone was objectionable, security was demanded and was paid. Subsequently the paper decided to confine itself to bare news and not offer any editorial comments.

The CHANDRIKA was a strong supporter of the Muslim League, and was very critical of the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha. Its tone was inclined to be immoderate.

The DESHABHIMANI, a Communist weekly paper, published several highly objectionable articles and it was warned.

The MALAYALA RAJYAM of Quilon continued to be strongly nationalist in tone. It was pro-Congress and was critical of the British policy in India. Its tone was unobjectionable.

The KERALA KAUMUDI of Trivandrum was an organ of the Izhuva community. Though nationalist in outlook, its tone was restrained and moderate.

The SAHODARAN of Ernakulam was a communal weekly representing the Izhuva community. It strongly criticised the Congress. Its tone was unobjectionable.

KANNADA.

THE VISWAKARNATAKA, a leading daily of Bangalore, continued to be a staunch supporter of the Congress policy, though its attitude towards the local administration was usually friendly. Its tone was nationalistic but restrained.

The DESHABANDHU, another important paper of the Mysore State, commanded a wide circulation. It represented the moderate opinion in the country. It disapproved of the activities of the Mysore State Congress and usually supported the Government. During the latter half of the year, however, it became a staunch advocate of the Congress demand. Its tone was uniformly sober.

URDU.

The MUSALMAN continued to occupy a leading position among the Urdu newspapers and journals of Madras. It was a staunch supporter of the policy of the Muslim League. Its tone, though generally guarded, was strong at times when criticising the Congress and the Government.

The JADEED DILCHASP continued to be communal in its outlook. It was an unsparing critic of the Congress. Its tone was moderate.

The RAFIQUE continued its policy of criticising the Government, the Congress or the Muslim League according to its fancy. Its tone remained moderate.

The RABHAR-I-DECCAN continued to be the best Urdu newspaper of Hyderabad (Deccan) and Bangalore. It remained a staunch supporter of the Muslim League, a critic of the Congress and a Champion of the interests of the Hyderabad State. Its tone was moderate.

The PAYAM of Hyderabad (Deccan) continued to be nationalist in tone, notwithstanding considerable differences with the Congress policy. It held advanced views on Indian as well as on foreign affairs. It was unsparing in its criticism of the Congress and the Muslim League when it considered their respective policies to be detrimental to the best interests of the country. Its tone was generally moderate.

The ALKALAM of Bangalore took a broad view where the interests of India as a whole were concerned, in spite of its pro-League leanings. Its tone was generally moderate, though it was occasionally vehement in criticising the Government of India.

Madras,
14th May 1943.

(SD.) G.W.PRIESTLEY,
CHIEF SECRETARY.

Extracts from G.O.S. relating to Anti-War & Quit India Movement In the Madras ~~Presidencies~~: _ Role of the Press. (1944) (1940-45)

G.O.NO.1805, dt. 13th June, 1944, Public (Elections), Confl. 73

Sub:- Newspapers - Annual Report on newspapers for 1943 and List of amendments to Annual Statement of newspapers for 1942 - Transmitted to Government of India.

REPORT ON THE TONE OF THE NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS PUBLISHED DURING THE YEAR, 1943.

During the year under review the tone of the English newspapers on matters other than Indian politics was on the whole not objectionable but practically the whole of it must be regarded as definitely in the opposition to the present Government. * * * * * * * The Nationalist Press was, however, agitated over the fast undertaken by Mr. Gandhi early last year, the anti-Indian Pegging Law enacted in South Africa and the Bengal famine and it demanded the release of all political prisoners. It pointed out that the Governments established at the Centre and in the Provinces did not enjoy the confidence of the people and that they were not competent to solve the major national problems that might arise after the war. It therefore emphasised the need for the establishment of a National Government at the Centre.

Though the Tamil newspapers were not wholehearted supporters of the war effort, they were not unfriendly to the Allied cause. The Nationalist papers were sullen and bitter about the Government's attitude towards the political deadlock in India. They were highly critical of Mr. Amery's "do-nothing" policy and gave expression to the view that the continuance of the deadlock suited the Government admirably. The release of the Congress leaders and the establishment of a National Government were urged for enlisting the wholehearted co-operation of the country in the war effort and for launching an offensive against Japan. The Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference passed a resolution alleging that the Government of India had broken the Bombay agreement, and calling for a "black-out" on official news and statements and a hartal on 6th January 1943. Nationalist papers in the City carried out the resolution. The Madras Government withdrew all official press facilities from these

75

newspapers. Subsequently the Editors' Conference reached an understanding with the Government of India and withdraw the "black-out". The Government of Madras thereupon restored official press facilities.

The tone of the Malayalam press on the whole was not objectionable. In regard to the war, it was not unfriendly to the Allied cause. The food problem and the "Grow More Food" campaign engaged the attention of the Press during the year under review. It drew pointed attention to the famine in Bengal and blamed the Government of India and the British Government for the situation. The Press demanded that the deadlock in India should be ended, the Congress leaders released and a National Government set up at the Centre to tackle the food problem more effectively.

The tone of the Kannada papers was, on the whole, restrained. Most of the nationalist papers expressed faith in the leadership of Mr.Gandhi, condemned the British policy in India and did not approve the Government publications, such as "India and the Fifty Points" and "Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43". These papers considered that the final year of Lord Linlithgow's regime as Viceroy was "the darkest period of the British Rule in India", and that it was also futile for the Indians to expect anything from Lord Wavell or any other Viceroy, so long as there was no change in the policy pursued by Whitehall. The moderate papers urged that the authorities should immediately release the political prisoners, conciliate Mr. Gandhi and the Congress and establish a strong National Government at the Centre and popular Governments in the Provinces which would be the best means of securing the country's whole-hearted co-operation in the war effort. The Press urged that the United Nations should pay special attention to the question of opening a "Second Front" as early as possible.

The tone of the Urdu Press remained on the whole satisfactory, * * * * * * * * * * * In internal politics it generally followed the policy of the Muslim League. The Urdu papers outside the

Presidency remained loyal to their respective States and sympathised with the cause of the Allies in the war.

ENGLISH.

77

The HINDU was strongly nationalistic in tone. It condemned the rule by Ordinances, advocated the release of national leaders and urged the establishment of a National Government at the Centre. It pleaded strongly for the liberties of the Press whenever Provincial Governments took action against individual papers for contravening the restrictions imposed on the Press.

The MAIL strongly advocated the introduction of the system of rationing of all essential commodities and deliberately set out to paint the food situation as black as possible. Its attack on the Central and Provincial Governments, particularly in regard to their food policy, ~~xaxx~~ was indiscriminate and unfair and its criticisms generally unhelpful and cantankerous.

The INDIAN EXPRESS was a staunch supporter of the Congress Party. It criticised in very strong terms the policy of the Government both in regard to the continued detention of the national leaders and the restrictions imposed on the Press. It continued to feature war news with ~~thick-type~~ sensational headlines calculated to create misgivings in the minds of readers.

The FREE PRESS continued to be an ardent supporter of the Congress policy. Its criticisms of the measures of the Government were bitter and at times offensive. It featured war news with thick-type headlines which were likely to cause alarm.

The LIBERATOR which was converted into an evening daily continued to support the cause of the Non-Brahmans and was bitter in its attack of The HINDU, its Editor and the Brahman community. It attacked the Congress policy and expressed admiration for Mr. Jinnah. It generally supported the Government of India's policy in matters relating to post-war reconstruction.

The SUNDAY OBSERVER continued to support the war effort and carried on its violent attack against the Brahmans and Congres

TAMIL AND ANGLO-TAMIL.

The THANTHI, which was formerly published only at Madura, began to be published also in Madras in the year under report. It claimed to be an independent nationalist paper and its views were ill-balanced. It was devoted to the promotion of Tamil culture and fought strenuously for keeping Tamil Nadu the close preserve of the Tamils. It vehemently resisted the attempt of the Andhras to include a portion of Tamil Nadu in the future Andhra province. The paper used strong language in criticising the measures of the Government.

The VIDUTHALAI, the organ of the National War Front, generally devoted its pages to the publication of reports of war propaganda meetings, Press Notes, Communiques and other propaganda material issued by the Government. Its leading articles were primarily intended to elucidate the war situation developing from day-to-day.

The JANASAKTHI, the organ of the Provincial Communist Party, was very caustic in its criticism of the policy of the Central and Provincial Governments, particularly in regard to such problems as the Bengal famine, rationing of rice, control of prices, etc. It was always very bitter in its criticism of the Government's attitude towards the Communists in India. A security of Rs.500 was demanded from it for publishing an objectionable article.

The SAIFUL ISLAM continued to advocate the cause of the Muslim League.

The ARYA DHARMA of Kumbakonam was anti-Congress and anti-Socialist.

The KUMARAN and the CHETTINAD of Karaikudi generally supported the policy of the Congress. They were publishing war news and comments on the political situation. Their tone was moderate and in favour of the Allies.

MALAYALAM.

The MATHRUBHUMI of Calicut, continued to be the leading nationalist daily, and indulged in anti-Government propaganda. The editor was warned for publishing alarming news on the food situation.

The CHANDRIKA, a Muslim weekly published at Tellicherry, continued to be a strong supporter of the Muslim League and was very critical of the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Congress.

The DESHABHIMANI, Calicut, a Communist weekly, was virulently anti-Government in tone. Security was demanded and was paid. Subsequently the paper was less objectionable in tone.

The KERALA KAUMUDI of Trivandrum, an organ of the Izhuva community, was nationalist in outlook. It was noted for its literary style and good grasp of public questions. In politics it was occasionally pungent.

The SAHODARAN of Ernakulam was a communal weekly and a constant critic of the Congress. It had strong socialistic leanings. It exercised a healthy influence in politics.

KANNADA.

The VISWAKARNATAKA of Bangalore continued to maintain its high level of popularity. Both the "daily" and the "weekly" editions were strongly pro-Congress, but the tone was greatly restrained. Though it supported the activities of the Mysore State Congress, it remained a friendly critic of the local administration.

The TAYI NADU was another leading daily of Bangalore. It usually dealt with a wide range of topics, including politics. Though it was pro-Congress, and strongly supported Mr. Gandhi, its tone was distinctly ~~xxx~~ more restrained than in the past.

The DESHABANDHU was the leading paper of Bangalore representing the moderate opinion in the country. Though it sympathised with Mr. Gandhi, it criticised the activities of the Mysore State Congress. It was distinctly pro-Government.

The KODAGU and the JANMABHOOMI were two weeklies published in Mercara (Coorg). Both were pro-Congress. The tone of the Janmabhoomi continued to be moderate. The KODAGU, which used to be a bitter critic of the Government was more restrained in tone

U R D U.

The MUSSALMAN, the only Urdu daily published in Madras city, continued to occupy a leading position among the Urdu newspapers and journals of Madras. It was a staunch supporter of the Muslim League. Though at times it criticised the Government somewhat strongly, its tone remained moderate. The RABHARI-DECCAN of Hyderabad (Deccan) remained a supporter of the Muslim League, a critic of the Congress and the foremost champion of the interests of the Hyderabad State. Its tone was moderate.

The ALKALAM of Bangalore generally followed the lead of the Muslim League. Its tone which was generally moderate became strong while commenting upon topics of Indian interest.

Madras,
26th May 1944.

G.W.PRIESTLEY,
Chief Secretary.

85

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Anti-war and 'Quit India' movement Role of the Press (1943) (1940-43)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

Statements by Congress leaders on the anniversary of arrests of August 1942 - Submission for press advice before publication Instructions - Request of the M.P.A. for their withdrawal Aceded to - Papers recorded.

REFERENCE:-G.O.No. 2739(Con)Dated 25-9-1943, Public (Press)Dept.

CONFIDENTIAL. DRAFTI. PUBLIC (PRESS) DEPARTMENT.

LETTER NO. 2605/43-1 DATED 13-8-43.

To

The Editors of Newspapers (In Madras City which publish Political News) and
Managers of News Agencies.

Sir,

I am to inform you that in the view of Government, it is important that statements by Congress leaders on the anniversary of arrests of last August and which are calculated to vindicate Congress are press advised before publication. I am therefore to request you to submit such statements to the Provincial Press Adviser for advice before publication.

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Anti-war and 'Quit India' movement Role of the Press (1943) (1940-45)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

Press controlm - Instructions and policy to be observed in the matter of publication of news or comments relating to Mr. Gandhi's fast papers recorded.

REFERENCE:-G.O.No. 3199(Con)dated 5-11-1943, Public (Press)Dept.

SECRET.
No.562/43-1.

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

PUBLIC(PRESS)DEPARTMENT.

Chetpat, Madras,
10th February 1943.

To

The Editor.

Sir,

I am directed to say that the Government desire that news regarding Mr. Gandhi's 'fast' should be treated with the greatest restriant.

No statement purporting to be made by Mr. Gandhi and no account of an interview with him may be published; nor should the situation be exploited by inflammatory editorial comment or cartoons, by flaring headlines, by undue topographical or pictorial display of colourful reports or by any other feature calculated to evoke popular excitement or apprehension. Bulletins about the progress of Mr. Gandhi's health will be allowed ~~by~~ but they must be confined to objective news of his condition such as should appear in medical buletins.

I am to request that in your own interests you will seek Press Advice before publication of any doubtful matter which you may receive.

x

Yours faithfully,
Sd. S. V. Ramamurthy

Chief Secretary to Government and
Provincial Press Adviser.

Important Code telegram dated 14-2-1943 from Foreign, New Delhi.

No. 1159 Circular Home Department.

It has been suggested from various quarters that too much latitude is being allowed to messages of Press Agencies regarding Gandhi's fast and matter connected therewith such as hartals, processions arrests, sympathetic fasts and other matter calculated to enlist sympathy for Gandhi and to excite popular feeling against Government. It is difficult for us here to exercise completely control over services of news agencies especially when number items in them have been submitted for local press advice and reach Delhi with intimation that they have been passed for publication in province of origin. Please therefore instruct your Press Advisers to bear in mind considerations mentioned in dealing local messages. In particular we consider it desirable to discourage or stop interviews with persons of local importance which have obviously been sought or prompted by press agencies themselves.

Advance copies forwarded to A-1 and A-3.

Letter No. 562/43-4 dated 16-2-43.

To

The Editors of newspapers who publish political news
and to
The Managers of News Agencies.

Sir,

Mr. Gandhi's fast - Publication and featuring of news and comments.

I am directed to state that that at a conference of Newspaper repqresentatives held on 10th February 1943 it was explained that featuring of news relating to Mr. Gandhi's fast by the publication of more than one column headline was objectionable. I am also to invite your attention to letter No. 562/43-1 dated 10th February 1943 in which it has been stated that no flaring headline should be given to such news. Government observe that

certain newspapers have featured the news by giving a headline of more than one column. I am therefore to request you to not give headlines of more than one column to news relating to Mr. Gandhi fast or to comments or statements made on the subject.

2. I am to add for your information that the statement issued by Pandit Malaviya on Mr. Gandhi's health has not been passed for publication.

Telegram No. 1398 dated 22nd Feb, 1943 from the Government of India, Home Department deciphers as follows:-

Even during present situation and much more so in the event of Gandhi's death we cannot afford or allow risks of disorder to be increased by action of Press whether deliberate or otherwise. We adhere to view ~~tx~~ it is impossible for Central Government to issue general orders under Defence Rules which would satisfactorily cover all points and be equally suitable for application to all Newspapers. We must therefore continue to rely Provincial Government either to use their statutory powers without hesitation against their press or against individual newspapers with prime object keeping atmosphere as calm as possible or else employ such other methods as they can rely upon to have same effect bearing in mind particularly need for---

(1) Limiting total volume Gandhi news carried by press agencies

(2) Avoiding embarrassment to other Governments by passing for publication items of local news which may have undesirable effects if published elsewhere.

(3) Suppressing news Acts of violence and alarmist o or provocative accounts of disorders if they occur and,

(4) Stopping inflammatory comment designed to create animosity against Government. We consider press agencies are now being allowed to carry far too many protests or appeals from quite unimportant individuals or bodies. On the other hand if death occurs may be positively desirable to pass full accounts of peaceful demonstrations of tributes to or ~~appeals and~~ memoirs of Gandhi and other items which will not have an exciting effect.

----

of Gandhi and other items which will not have an exciting effect;

Advance copies forwarded to All Advisers and H.E.

SECRET.
No. 562/43-7.

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

Public (Press) Department.

Chetpet, Madras,
23rd February 1943.

To

The Editor.

Sir,

Mr. Gandhi's fast - Publication of news and comments.

I am to invite your attention to Government's letter No. 562/43-1 dated 10th February 1943 wherein Government desired that news regarding Mr. Gandhi's fast should be treated with the greatest restraint and that the situation should not be exploited by inflammatory editorial comments or by a view of the imperative necessity for keeping the atmosphere as calm as possible I am once again to remind the press of its responsibility in the matter and to emphasise the fact that the object cannot be achieved by publication of inflammatory comments which may create animosity against the Government. I am therefore to urge on you the desirability of avoiding the publication of such comments.

Yours faithfully,
(SD.) S. V. Ramamurty
Chief Secretary to Government.

- - -

Letter No. 562/43-9 dated 24-2-43. Public (Press) Department.

To

The Editors of newspapers in the City of Madras which public political news and to

The Managers of News Agencies.

Sir,

The Government have noticed that accounts of resolutions said to be passed by the staff of Government offices for the release of Mr. Gandhi and of gatherings held by them for the offer are appearing in newspapers for the offer of prayers. I am to request you not to publish such accounts without press advice.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.
Government of Madras.
Public (Press) Department.
No. 562/43-9.

Chetpet, Madras,
24th February 1943.

To

The Editor.

Sir,

The Government have noticed that accounts of resolutions said to be passed by the staff of Government offices for the release of Mr. Gandhi and of gatherings held by them for the offer of prayers are appearing in newspapers; I am to request you to not to publish such accounts ~~with~~ without press advice.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) S.V. Ramamoorthy.

CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVT.

CONFIDENTIAL

Officexx of the
Inspector Genl. of Police,
Madras Dt. 24th Feby. '43.

No. 301/Camp/43.

From

L.B.Gasson Esquire, I.P.,
Inspector-General of Police, Madras.

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,
Chetput, Madras.

Sir,

I suggest that the leader entitled "The Writing on the Wall" in the 'Indian Express' of this morning represents direct incitement to Government servants including the Police to take sides in the present political controversy about Mr. Gandhi's fast. It is suggested that this pointed appeal to the Police should, under no circumstances, be allowed to pass unnoticed.

Sd. L.B.GASSON,

Inspector-General of Police...

Important telegram No. 1677, dated 1-3-1943 from Foreign, New Delhi Circular. Home Department.

If Gandhi's fast is successfully completed, you must use your discretion as to continuance of precautionary measures against possible disorders and also of restrictions on Press. Some risk of death and therefore some popular tension may remain until he is pronounced out of danger and termination of fast certainly does not imply liberty to publish news or comments which would not have been allowed during its continuance. Precautionary measures and pre-censorship orders, where these have been necessary should not therefore be withdrawn unless you are xxx satisfied this can be done safely.

- - -

Public (Press)Department.

Letter No. 562/43-14 dated 2-3-43.

To

The editors of newspapers in Madras City which publish political news.

Sir,

I am directed to state that though Mr. Gandhi may terminate his fast on the 3rd March 1943, Government consider that his physical condition may be such that some popular tension may remain until he is pronounced out of danger. Government therefore desire that the restraints advised in regard to the publication of news or comments relating to him in the letters noted in the margin* should be observed until they are cancelled.

ALL INDIA NEWSPAPER EDITORS' CONFERENCE.

Kasturi Buildings,
Mount Road, Madras,
9th March 1943

Dear Sir,

An emergent meeting of the Madras Provincial Press Advisory Committee will be held at 12 noon on Thursday, the 11th instant, at Kasturi Buildings to consider the reply received from the Government (copy enclosed) with regard to the decision of the Committee regarding publication in The Indian Express" on news relating to Gandhiji.

Please make it convenient to attend the meeting.

Yours faithfully,

(SD.) S.NARAYANAN.

(For Mr. C.R.Srinivasan.
CONVENER)

- - -

MEETING of the Madras Press Advisory Committee at the Chief Secretary's Room, at 12 Noon, on Tuesday, the 2nd March 1943.

PRESENT:
1. Sri Ramanath Goenka ("Indian Express)
2. Sri Shambu Prasad ("Andhra Patirka)
3. Sri K.P.Viswanatha Iyer ("The Hindu")
4. Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan ("Deccan Times")
5. Sri S.V.Swamy ("Free Press"))
6. Mr. A.A.Hayles ("The Mail")
7. Sri C.R.Srinivasan, CONVENER. ("Swadesamitran")
8. Mr. S.V.Ramamurthy, C.I.E., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to Government.
9. Sri V.S.Ramasami Sastri, Information Officer & Special Press Adviser.

I. The case of DESHABHIMANI was taken up for consideratio In the view of the Committee, the language used in the articles complained was intemperate and criticism ill-judged. The Editor of the paper who was in Madras and invited to express his views said he regretted the tone of the articles and would be more careful in future. In the circumstances the Committee recommended that a final warning may be given and security demanded from the paper if Government considers there has been any infirngemet in the future.

II. The case of the Indian Express was next taken up. The Convener pointed out that the consideration of the points raised was only of academic interest as the fast was coming to a close today. It was however pointed out that the aftermath of the fast was also relevant for consideration. Mr. Goenka pointed out with statistical data that the quantum of news relating to Gandhi published in Indian Express was substantially the same as in other prominent English papers and that most of the matter was press-advised and received from A.P.I. and U.P. agencies. All items received from the accredited advised, the attention of the Editor is specifically drawn to it. Mr. Goenka also contended that such statements as he published were not really statements in the accepted sense or from Gandhi and there was no politics in these statements or remarks. The request from the Chief Secretary did not in terms cover the points now raised. About point 3 the resolution of Cordite

103

Factory workers did not relate to Government staff. They are workkers did not relate to Government staff. They are workers and like-resolutions from Government quasi Government labour have been allowed publication. Matter regarding G.H.Q. was press-passed and published in the country.

In the light of the explanations offered by Mr. Goenka the Committee is of the view that no case has been made for any Government action.

Sd. C.R.Srinivasan,

CONVENER.

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS?
PUBLIC (PRESS) DEPARTMENT.

No. 562/43-16.

Chetpet, Madras,
15th March 1943.

To

The Convener,
Madras Press Advisory Committee.

Sir,

Your letter dated 11th March 1943.

I am to state for your information that the Government did not accept the recommendation of the Press Advisory Committee for the following reasons:

It is not an excuse to say that other papers such as the "Hindu" devoted nearly as much space to the subject as the "Indian Express". Prepertionately to the total size of the paper, the "The Indian Express" devoted mere space to the subject than other papers.

There is no justification shown for the assumption that all news received through "accredited agencies" are press-advised. Eve if there is reason for such assumption, that will not exenerate z paper which publishes matter which the Government specifically desired to be avoided. The explanation that certain matters published was personal and not political dees no t excuse to disregard of instructions given. Government did not allow the publication of resolutions passed by the Government or quasi-Government Labour.

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Anti War & Quit India Movement (1940 to 194) IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. (Roll of the Press 1945)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

("Andhra Prabha" - Editor - Warned - Government of Madras)

REFERENCE:- G.O.No. 570(Confidential)dated ~~13-10-1941~~ 1-3-1945, Public (press) Department.

The Indian express and Andhra Prabha published misleading and malicious head lines quite unjustified by the text which followed it. The matter was referred to the press advisory committee by the government for a suitable action. Since the editor of "Indian Express" had expressed his regret at the publication of the headlines referred to and promised to exercise greater care in the featuring of news in the paper; the Government decided to drop further action in the matter. As regards Andhra Prabha, the Government decided to convey a warning to its editor to exercise greater caution in future.

107

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Anti-war and "Quit India" movements
Role of the Press (1945) (1940-45)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

PRess control - Press Advisory system - and press Advisory Committee - Need for Continuation - considered unnecessary Government of India reference replied to - papers recorded.

REFERENCE:-G.O.No. 2370(Con) dated 8-10-1945, Public (Press)Dept.

COPY

No. 8/1/45-A&G.
Government of India.

Department of Information and Broadcasting.

New Delhi, the 21st Sep. 1945.

From

H.P.Kaul, Esquire,
Assistant Secretary to the Government of India.

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,
Madras.

Sir,

Consequent on the termination of the war, the Government of India have decideed to abolish the Press Control Organisation in the Provinces and Administrations. I am therefore directed to say that the financial liability of the Central Government will be continued only up to the 31st October 1945, after which the whole staff and activities of the existing organisation may be liquidated.

2. The details of the actual expenditure incurred up tox the end of October 1945, may kindly be sent to this Department in due course.

3. The Government of India would also welcome the Provincial Government views whether the Press Advisory system and Advisory system and Advisory Committees should be retained after the withdrawal of all war-time legislation affecting the Press.

I have etc.
H.P.Kaul.
Asst. Secretary to the Govt. of India.

- - -

Public (Press)Dept.

Letter No. 3145/45-1 dated 4-10-45.

To

The Assistant Secretary to the Government of India,
Department of Information & Broadcasting,
NEW DELHI.

Sir,

Press control work in the Madras Presidency -
Your letter No. 8/1/45 - A & G dated 21st Septr. 45.

With reference to paragraph 3 of the letter cited above I am directed to state that the Madras Government are of the view that the Press Advisory Committee is superfluous - at any rate under normal conditions. The press here do not want Government advice. The Government thatefore consider that these is no need to continue the Press Advisory system and the Press Advisory Committee in this Province after the withdrawal of Press control.

Public (Press) Dept.

Press Control - Press Advisory System and Press Advisory Committees - Retention of.

REF:- Letter from the Government of India, Department of Information and Broadcasting No. 8/1/45 -A&G dated 21st Septr. 45.

Please see the letter from the Governmenr of India in the C.F.

Paras 1 & 2 of the letter

Action has been taken separately.

Para 3 of the letter. 110

The Government of India desire to have the views of this Government as to whether the Press Advisory system now in force and the Press Advisory Committee now functioning in this province should be retained after the withdrawal of all war time legislation affecting the Press.

Press Advisory system: The press advising system exists for the convenience and guidance of newspapers. It is a purely voluntary system and newspapers are under no legal obligation to avail thesmelves of it. It is intended to assist Editors who desire

for their better protection under the law to consult a Press Adviser as to the advisiability of publishing particular items of news or comment and speculation based upon them. Press Advisers do not seek to bring pressure to bear on Editors but merely to help them in the light of their special knowledge of the Defence of India Rules and of Press Notices Published under them from time time. It follows that no offences is committed by not consulting a press Adviser and similarly, no offence is committed b y not following the advice of a press Adviser once it is given. Editors have been supplied with copies of 'Press Instructions for War' and of all Press Notices subsequently issued, but it was felt that assistance in interpreting them in relation to particular messages or articles might be useful and it was to provide such assistance that Press Advisers were appointed.

The major portion in the restrictions contained in the Press Instructions for war has now been relaxed and the restrictions that are still in force are given in the statement. ~~at flag (k)~~ As security reasons do not exist [now to] ~~used~~ except [a] to extent [except to a limits] it is for consideration whether the Advisory system is to be continued.

171

<u>Press Advisory Committee:</u> As a result of an understanding reached after friendly conversation with leading editors, the Government of India accepted the suggestion of the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society to constitute a small advisory committee of press representatives at Delhi ~~its~~ [to] advise them on matters ~~affreshing~~ [affecting] the Press and recommended Provincial Governments to agree to the setti up of similar committees in the provinces,. Accordingly a Press Advisory Committee for the Presidency of Madras was constituted on 29th November 1940. The committee is composed of the following members:-

1. Editor, 'Swadesamitran(Tamil) -- Member and Convener.
2. " 'Mail' (English "
3. Assistant Editory, 'Hindu' (Eng) "
4. Editor 'Andhra Patrika' (Telegu) "
5. Editor 'Decan Times' (English) "
6. Editor 'Free Press' (English) "
7. Editor, 'Anandan Vikatan' (Tamil) "

The Presidency of the All Indian Nesspaper Editors' Conference nominates the members of the Provincial Press Advisory Committee in

in consultation with the Provincial Sub-Committee of the Standing Committee of the Conference. The Government accept the nomination by exahange of letters. The members are not appointed by Government The Press Advisory Committee is purely advisory and there is no obligation upon either the Provincial Government or their Press Adviser to accept the Committee's advice any more than there is an obligation on the Press to accept the advice of the Press Adviser Nor is there any obligation upon the Provincial Government to consult the Committee about action which it may be proposed to take against newspapers guilty of breaches of Defence of India Rules.

This Government however have established a convention according to which they have agreed to consult the Press Advisory Committee on specific cases whether relating to the anti-war movement or not before action is taken by them except in cases of emergency. They have also agreed that in all matters of real importance affecting the press as a whole or any considerable section of it they will proceed so far as they can possibly do so in consultation with the Madras Press Advisory Committee. It was felt that any action proposed against a paper e.g. a warning, may be more efective and less likely to be resented if it comes from a Press Advisory Committee than from a Press Adviser direct.

The Committee conducts its business by holding meetings as and when occasion arises. Whenever the Provincial Government have to seek the advice of the Committee the Convener is informed of the subjects on which the views of the Committee are called for. The Convener issues notices to the members of the Committee, to the Provincial Press Adviser (Chief Secretary to Government) and the Special Press Adviser communicating to them a copy of the agenda. The convener of his own accord also convenes meetings of the Committee and communicates a copy of the agenda to the Press Advisers. The meetings are invariably held in the room of the Provincial Press Adviser (Chief Secretary to Government) If he is at headquarters and he conducts the meetings. The provincial Press Adviser and the Special Press Adviser attend meetings as representatives of the Provincial Government.

115

8 So far, the relations between the Madras Press Advisory Committee and the Government have been cordial and the Committee have been consulted on almost all occasions . The All Indian Newspapers Editors Standing ommittee at their annual conferences at Bombay and Madras, in 1943&44 made mention of the satisfactory working of the Press Advisory Committee in Madras. Except in two ~~xxxxx~~ instances in 1942 (1) when a security was demanded from the Ananda Vikatan a Tamil weekly of Madras in respect of an objectionable cartoon; and (2) when a warning was administered to the Editor Hindu for having published an objectionable leading article entitled 'Fustian', the recommendations of the Press Advisory Committee have been generally accepted by the Government.~~xxx~~ The Chief Press Adviser in the communication dated 9-10-41 expressed the hope that 'if the Press Advisory Committees prove a success it would be advantageous to keep the system in being when the war is over'. It is now for consideration whether the Madras Press Advisory Committee may continue to function. For orders.

There does not seem to be any need to retain the Press Advising system and the Madras Press Advisory Committee any ~~lawyer~~ longer.

--- -

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Anti-war and "Quit India" movements
Role of the Press (1945) (1940-45)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

ABSTRACE OF THE G.O.

Press Congtrol - Press Advisory System - Enlargement - Suggestions for Reply sent to Government of India - Papers recorded;

REFERENCE:-G.O.No. 2491(Con)Dated 20-10-1945, Public (Press) Dept.

Public (Press) Department.

Press Advisory System - Enlargement - suggestions for.

Ref:- Express lettter from the Chief Press Adviser, Government of India No. F/22/45, dated 19th February 1945.

The Express letter from the Chief Press Adviser ~~maxthe~~ may be perused. He thinks that the attitude evinced by certain Editors of Nespapers in publishing news items and articles which stress the weaknesses or dissensions among the Allies is most undesirable As such articles provide enemy propaganda with useful pabulum, he states that the Government of India have under consideration the possibility of extneding the Press Advisory ~~Sts~~ System beyond merely advising on ne news items submitted and issuing occasional guidance to the press. He has made four suggestions and has invited the views of the Provincial Press Adviser on them.

At the outset it has to be mentioned that it is not only the papers published in India, which provide material for exploitation by the enemy, but also papers published in the United Kingdom and in America which provide plenty of such material. Reuter's agency the United Press of India and some American agency transmit such news or articles to India and the papers published in India ~~eproduce~~ reproduce them, sometimes with comment. If the preventive steps suggested by the Chief Press Adviser in regard to the type of articles mentioned by him are taken only in respect of news or articles published in India, the result contemplated by the Chief Press Adviser may not be achieved.

It has also to be mentioned that so far as the press in this presidency is concerned, the majority of editors have been supporters of the Allied war efforts. The criticisms which occasionall

appeared in certain Congress papers were levelled more at certain alleged irregularities in the methods pursued by over zealous Government servants in the matter of collections to the war fund, etc. In the International field the relations of Britain with Greece and the recognition of rival Polish Governments by Britain and America on one side and Russia on the other side furnished legitimate grounds for comments by newspapers The criticisms of the Madras Press were mostly directed towards the imperialistic tendencies shown b but they were not of a defeatist character.

The four suggestions made by the Chief Press Adviser are examined below:

(I) Personal persuasion of Editors by Press Advisers:- This relates to the personal aspect of ~~te~~ The matter and its success depends upon the temperament of the Editor concerned and the personality of and tact employed by the Press Adviser. The difficulty in these cases is that the publication of the matter in question is not actionable under the law, but it is likely to embarrass International relationship or is unhelpful to the war effort and the maintenance of public morale. It has been the experience, that, when an Editor takes a particular view, it is very difficult to persuade him to adopt the contrary. Attention is invited to a very recent case, where the Special Press Adviser tried to persuade without success the news editor of the MAIL not to publish an item of news, as it was likely to embarrass the forces of an Allied power in India - ~~please see the notes on pp. 7-8 of the papers put up at flag E~~

(II) Consultation with the Press Advisory Committee:- We are consulting the Madras Press advisory Committee generally in cases where newspapers publish news or articles, which are actionable under the law. But, where the publication of an article is not legally actionable, the Madras Press Advisory Committee has shown itself unwilling to interfere in the matter of 'editorial discretion. The Committee is anxious to preserve the independence of the Press and the editors' discretion in the matter of publishing news.

The frequent offenders in the matter of publication of

of embarassing articles or news are the INDIAN EXPRESS, the FREE PRESS, the MAIL, ANANDA VIKATAN KALKI, TAMILMANI, etc. The editors of three of these papers are on the Committee. It does not seem that much useful purpose will be served by bringing before the Press Advisory Committee the cases of these editors who refused to be persuaded by the Press Adviser "in the hope that the Committee might recognise the need for a balanced outlook and record views unfavourable to the offending newspaper".

(III) Issue of directives or explanatory guidance to the Press:-

The press generally resent the distribution from official sources of directives or guidance notes which seek to obviate "ill-informed, irresponsible or unbalanced comment" on issues of public importance. Scathing criticisms have appeared in the press about the official propaganda circulated in America about the Indian political situation. It is submitted that the editors will view with suspicion the guidance notes emanating from official sources.

IV Holding of periodical non-political discussions with Editors by the Provincial Press Adviser:-

Conference of Editors have been convened by this Government when Advisers to His Excellency the Governor explained the policy of the Government of India in promulgating certain orders which restrained the privileges of the press, ~~e.g. please see papers at flag~~P. If conferences are frequently convened which have no political bearing but which are convened merely to discuss publicity matters calculated to maintain public morale and to promote war effort it is submitted that editors might not attend such meetings. Such meetings will be attended only by the representatives of the newspapers such as reporters. Numerous questions will be asked about the policy of the Government. It is submitted that till now it has not been found necessary to have non-political conferences.

Orders are requested as to the reply to be given to the Chief Press Adviser.

The suggestions contained in the Chief Press Advisers letter do not seem to be practical or workable. One important fact

123.

has evidently not been fully taken into account, viz., that the Editors as a class are extremely jealous of their rights within the law, and of their duty to give the readers as much news as possible

~~Re. (I) in C.P.A.'s letter, a case in which the method of personal persuasion failed, is given at flag (E).~~ In matters ~~which~~ which are not actionable, it is very difficult to persuade editors to refrain from publishing news or comments of an embarrassing character. Even if an editor wants to oblige, he is obsessed with the feeling that other papers which may not be xepxx responsive to such appeals or requests may publish the news or comments and steal a march over him. The case of The Mail brings into relief the difficulty of carring out C.P.A.'s first suggestion.

As for this IInd suggestion the same objection holds good. If individual editors are like this, they are even worse when gathered as a body. From experience of P.A.C. meetings held in the Secretariat, I may state that unless the matter is definitely objectionable and clearly actionable, the P.A.C. will not be in a mood to advise or take to xxx task the paper which publishes news or comments of an embarrassing character.

Thirdly "explanatory guidance" notes to Editors may not have a greater chance of success where I and II are found to be impracticable.

As for IV, "non-political" meetings with Editors, most of whom are pro-congress have absolutely no chance of success, as promotion of the war effort is considered by them to be dependent on certain political factors. It would not be easy to get the attendance of Editors for these meetings. (Some members of the P.A.C. do not attend even the meetings of the P.A.C.) Even if we succeed in drawing them to the water, we can't make them drink itx- and so these meetings may not serve the purpose for which they are proposed to be called.

The C.P.A. says at the outset that there has been "Some relaxation on the part of editors in their attitude to news items and articles which stress wekanesses or dissensions among he Allies"

This cannot be helped as scathing comments of American and British extremist journals and politicians on Allied attitude towards the Polish and Grecian questions have been allowed to come in.

One such case was referred to me for Press-advice by the INDIAN EXPRESS some time ago. It referred to the Indian troops in Greece joining the rebels and Mr. V.K.Krishna Menon's comment thereon that it was like going in the landlord's car and voting against him. This particular message did not come through "Reuter" but was a "Free Press" correspondent's report. I objected to its publications as a whole and "The Indian Express refrained from publishing it. But some papers in North India have published the report. The point is "Why was this not cut out by the Censor at Bombay itself as it seems to be definitely objectionable?"

The remedy seems in all such cases seems to lie in tightening censorship of foreign news at the Centre instead of tightening press control in the Provinces after relaxing the censorship there! How can we persuade Editors not to stress the question of dissensions among the allies, when comments of the American and British Press stressing such dissensions freely come through "Reuter" other agencies?

- - - -

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Antiwar and Quit India" movements

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Role of the Press (45) (1940-45

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

Press control-conference of Editors and Goverment officials concerned with press-Resolution of the All-India Newspape editors' conference Reply sent to Government of India-papers recorded.

REFERENCE:-G.O.No. 2492(Con) dated 20-10-1945, Public (Pres)Dept.

--

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 201/3/45-P
Government of India.
Department of Information and Broadcasting.

New Delhi, the 1st March 1945.

From

G.S.Bozman, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India.

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,
M A D R A S.

Sir,

I am directed to request that the Government of India may be favoured with the views of the Provincial Government on the following resolutions passed at a meeting of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference held in Calcutta on the 27th-28th January, 1945:-

"Resolved that, in order to secure greater satisfaction and efficiency in the working of the consultative machinery devised in pursuance of the Delhi Agreement and ensure uniformity of policy and procedure with regard to the implementing of this Agreement the Bombay Resolution and the application of the Defence of India Rules and the Press Instructions issued in pursuance of these Rules, a joint conference of representatives of the Standing Committee the Central Press Advisory Committee and Provincial Press Advisers and other Government officials concerned should be called by the Government of India at an early date".

I have the etc.,
(SD.) G.S.BOZMAN.
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

129

CONFIDENTIAL. Letter No. 727/45-1 DATED 16/3/45.

Public (Press)Dept.

To

The Secretary to the Goverment of India,

Department of Information & Broadcasting,

NEW DELHI.

Sir,

Press Control - Conference of Editors and Govt. officials - Convening of - Resolution of the ~~Government~~ All India Newspaper Editors' Conference - your letter No. 201/3/45-P, dated 1-3-45.

I am directed to state that this Government are of the view that no conference is needed so far as officials are concerned.

In ~~the persuance~~ this Province the working of the Press advisory Committee has been satisfactory.

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.Os. RELATING TO ANTI WAR & QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT - 1940 ROLE OF THE PRESS.
IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Defence of India Rules - Cancellation of Order)

REFERENCE: G.O.No.2560 (Ordinary) dated 26.10.1945.

Public Department.

....

The Government of Madras cancelled the order by which power of censorship under Defence of India Rules 18, 19 and 20 was delegated to District Magistrates etc.

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.Os. RELATING TO ANTI WAR & QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT 1940 IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

....

Abstract of the G.O.

("Press Instructions" - Cancellation of Order)

REFERENCE: G.O.No.2577 (Ordinary) dated 29.10.1945: Public Department.

...

The Government of Madras cancelled the order issued on 16th March 1942 which contained "Press Instructions" to the Newspapers.

1378/RH 15
2937/R.H
85 RI/2013
23/1489
6649/RH 2000
1598/RH 87
1-5-5/89
639/RH/2001
1528/RH 87
3039/R.H /06
522/RH
23/06/RI
0407/RH 17
541/RI/82 RI
15.4.18/RH
1083/87